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A PARTICULAR  
ACCOUNT  
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Cardinal *Fleury*'s  
JOURNEY to the other WORLD,  
AND HIS  
*Trial* at the Tribunal of *Minos*.

Wherein several  
*Secret Transactions*  
Relating to the  
AFFAIRS of EUROPE,  
During his ADMINISTRATION,  
Are brought to LIGHT, and canvased.  
With a Curious Description of the  
*Infernal* Regions and their *Inhabitants*.

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By DON QUEVEDO, Junior,  
Secretary to *ÆACUS*, one of the puisne Judges  
of the *Infernal* Court.

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A PARTICULAR

# ACCOUNT

OF THE

REVENUE OF THE

WEST INDIES

IN THE YEAR

1790



AND

THE

EXPENDITURE

IN THE

SAID YEAR



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An ACCOUNT  
OF  
Cardinal *Fleury*'s JOURNEY  
To the other World.

AS soon as the *Fates* had given Notice to *Pluto*, that the Life of *Andr. Hercules de Fleury*, commonly call'd Cardinal *Fleury*, was near spun out, and that *Atropos* was ready with the decisive Scissers to cut his Thread; *Mercury*, whose Office it is, was dispatch'd in all haste, attended by Death, to fetch him directly to the infernal Regions, in order to be try'd, and to receive the Reward due to his Actions, whether good or bad, committed in this Life. When the Messengers arriv'd at *Iffy* they found his Eminence making the best Use of the little Time he had to live, in procuring his Passports, such as his Church make absolutely necessary for the other World. He had already made his Confession, receiv'd Absolution and the Viaticum, had gotten a whole Budget of Indulgences by his Bed-side and was now at the finishing Stroke; that is, under the Operation of Extream Unction: or as *Guy Patin* archly said, was getting his *Boots greased*, to go on his Journey to the other World.

*Mercury* put on a scornful Smile at these useless Ceremonies, which Death cou'd scarce have Patience to see finish'd before he gave the

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depart-

departing Statesman the *Coupe de Grace*; and so deliver'd him out of his Misery: wherein however he could have been content to remain, rather than quit Life, which is so dear to Mortals; especially those, who having forsaken the Road of Virtue to follow the Paths of Iniquity and Ambition, have consequently a long and uncertain Account to make up.

The Cardinal having breathed his last, immediately found himself all naked in the Hands of Death, who at *Mercury's* Command bore him away on his Back as swift as Lightning to the Realms below. The quondam Minister was in such a Consternation at his sudden Change from Grandure to Poverty, from Power to Contempt, from a Body of Flesh and Bones to a Substance like a Shadow, in short, stripped of all his Splendor, Riches, Equipages, and in the Custody of the most bitter Enemy of Mankind, hurried along, he knew not whither, without a single Friend to comfort, or Servant to attend him; I say, he was so astonish'd at this strange Metamorphosis, that he cou'd not utter a Word; nor was his repeated crossing of any avail to deliver him out of the Clutches of Death, whatever Efficacy it might have had against the Devil, had that ugly Feind come in Person to fetch him.

It must be confess'd our Statesman had not much Time to think of the Condition to which he was so suddenly reduced, for in the same Instant he was at *I—y* and at the Entrance of *Tartarus*, tho' the Distance must be at least 81 Millions of Miles; since the local Hell, if there  
be

be one, cannot be nearer than the Sun. This Entrance is a dark Cave, of a prodigious wide-  
 deſs, all rocky within, and of a rugged ſteep deſ-  
 cent. Being come to the Mouth of it, Death,  
 without any Ceremony flung his Load headlong  
 in, as having him no longer in Charge, and  
 haſten'd back to the World, with *Mercury*, to  
 execute other Commiſſions. The C — l who  
 was ſo lately uncaged, as if he had been ſtill made  
 of Fleſh and Blood, gave a fearful Shriek, ima-  
 gining all his Bones wou'd be broken by the  
 Rudeneſs of the Fall; and like Men, who have  
 had their Limbs cut off, fancy'd at every rub  
 againſt the Rocks in his Way, that he felt Pains  
 in ſome Part or other of his Body. However, by  
 Degrees he recover'd himſelf, and perceiv'd his  
 Miſtake: yet was he not at all the more com-  
 forted, but continued to bewail his Caſe, not  
 knowing, but he was doomed for ever to be roll-  
 ing downwards in that Place of Darkneſs. At  
 length, after he had tumbled over and over ſome  
 thouſands of times, he came to the Bottom of  
 the Cave, where he found an infinite Number  
 of Mortals, who had juſt paſſ'd thro' it in the  
 ſame Manner he had done, and were in the  
 ſame plight with himſelf. Among theſe were  
 whole Batallions of *French* Soldiers and Officers,  
 who had died in *Germany* by the Hands of the  
*Auſtrians* or the Rigour of the Weather. Theſe  
 on ſight of him ſent forth moſt diſmal Cries; re-  
 proaching him as the Author of all their Miſe-  
 ries and untimely Deaths. This new Shock  
 redoubled his Diſtreſs, and his human Fears ſtill  
 poſ-



possessing him, he call'd out pitifully for Help, apprehending he should be torn in Pieces by them. But there was no Danger ; for the infernal Guards were in view, which are posted there to prevent Disorders, that might happen on the first Arrival of Adversaries, in those Regions, and conduct them to *Pluto's* Palace, the Way to which lay at first thro' a thick Wood of Yews and Cycamores; whose dusky Shade was rendered the more frightful by the dismal Gloom that prevails throughout the *Tartarian* Regions.

Two of these Guards immediately advanc'd up to him, in order to be his Guides, and presented him with a plain Frock and Cap, not unlike the *San Benito*, which those, who are condemn'd by the Inquisition in *Portugal* or *Spain* to be burnt for Heresy, wear when they go to Execution. This Habit he was obliged to put on, for it is that by which the Popish Clergy are distinguish'd in those Dominions. The whole was made of a Sort of incombustible Cotton, like the *Asbestos*, that it might not be consumed by Fire, which is very proper for the Inhabitants of this *Tierra del Fuogo*. On delivering the Cardinal his Frock, one of the two appointed for his Guard saluted him by Name, and told him, he was glad of the Opportunity to wait upon him. The Cardinal surpriz'd to be accosted in that Manner, as well as at the hideous Figure his Countenance made, told him who spoke, that he did not remember he had ever seen either of them before, and should be glad to know who they were. I am said the other the  
unfor-



unfortunate Count *Hoymb*, formerly Ambassador from the late King of *Poland* to the King of *France*, where I received many Favours from you; and afterwards, for carrying on a treasonable Correspondence with you, was cast into Prison at *Konigstein*, where, to prevent a worse Fate, I hang'd myself.

Dear Count, said the Cardinal, I never shou'd have known you, if you had not told me your Name; I remember your hard Fate, which gave me great Uneasiness, — pray who is the other Gentleman? This, reply'd the Count, is *Suss*, the famous Jew, Prime-Minister and Director of the Finances to the late Duke of *Wurtemberg*, who you may remember was hang'd \* for male Practices, by Order of the Duke's Successor.

'Tis no wonder the Cardinal did not know either of these Gentlemen, for they had suffered so great an Alteration in their Aspects from the violent manner in which they made their Exit, that there did not remain so much as one Feature or Liniament whereby they might be known: For their Faces were all bloated, black and frightfully distorted; the usual Effects of Strangling: Besides the Count was farther disguised by his red Hat, which those, who have made away with themselves, are doom'd to wear in the infernal Regions.

Whilst the Cardinal and his Guards were talking, there appear'd in view at some Di-

\* He was hanged on an Iron Gallows two Stories high; after which his Body was expos'd to public View, suspended thereon in an Iron Cage, and so remains to this Day.

stance the Duke of *Riperda*, not long since Minister to the present King of *Spain*, and *Tenhard* the Jesuit, Confessor to the late Emperor *Charles* the VI<sup>th</sup>. The Reason of their coming was to hear News: for that inquisitive Temper, which possesses Mortals in this Life, accompanies them into the next; and as they are deprived of all Communication with this World, they have no Way of knowing what passes here, but by conversing with the Ghosts which come from hence: As soon therefore as they heard of the Cardinals Arrival within those gloomy Territories, they begged Leave of *Pluto* that they might go meet, and attend him to the Palace. Their Curiosity made them advance very swiftly forwards, and as soon as they drew near, they saluted the Cardinal, who with some Difficulty discovered who they were. *Riperda*, who began the Discourse, asked how *Lewis* XV. did, saying he concluded he was still in the Land of the Living, because he had not seen him in the lower Realms yet. *Fleury* answer'd, that he hoped he was in Health, but was in great Pain for him; on Account of the ill Situation of his Affairs; and more on Account of the Incapacity of those who were the Competitors for his Post of Prime-Minister, which, he said required a much more able Head to draw the Grand Monarch out of the Difficulties that surrounded him, than his was, who, thro' too much Zeal for his Masters Glory, and too much Confidence in the Faith of Princes, had plunged him into them. Here

Here he fetched a deep Sigh! -- Ay the Faith of Princes, cry'd the Duke, is the worst Faith in the World; the least Blast of Interest will make them renounce it. Those are undone who depend upon it, unless they have Fortune at Command to strengthen it. 'Tis so timorous and deceitful, that the Moment any thing runs cross with them, it gives you the slip; and will not wait to see what you can do to help them, but leaves you at the Mercy of their Enemies. You and I are not the only Mortals who have experienced how little the Faith of Princes is to be regarded: but I am surprized that a Person of your Penetration should trust any of them so far as to put it in their Power to serve you a scurvy Trick, and overturn your Schemes.

There is no carrying on any Project in the World, reply'd the Cardinal, without the Help of others. There is therefore a Necessity of trusting Persons; and very often you must trust those in whom you have no Confidence, for they are to be held solely by their Interests; and this being your only Security, (for their Faith or solemn Treaties are not worth a Rush) the Moment that fails in the least, or is in the slightest Danger of failing, snap they fall off at once; and where's your Remedy? If you remonstrate ever so seriously, they only laugh at you: They consider such Proceedings as mere Farce, only to save your own Credit, and justify yourself in the Eye of the World; which seldom does the Business, and if it did, would  
afford



afford but small Reparation for the Injury sustained by their Perfidy: For if you either advised, or was very active in the Measure which miscarried, the Consequence to you will be the Loss of Reputation, your Place perhaps, and Favour both of King and People. Nor must you expect the least Kind of Amends, or even Pity from the Parties who caused your Disgrace; they will hear, the Misfortunes they brought upon you, talked on without the least Concern, and at last won't bear to hear your Name mentioned. Such is the Character of most Princes, and the ticklish Condition of those who confide in them: In short, you can expect no good of them, unless you have a Force sufficient to awe and compell them to keep their Engagements.

The Faith of Princes is become of late Ages a greater Jest than ever; and is so much out of Vogue, that they seem to be obliged to trick one another in their own Defence. Some watch their Opportunities for violating their Faith to Advantage; others make Treaties, only to stave off an unlucky Conjunction, with a full Design to break them the first convenient Occasion. A just Prince has no Chance in entering into Engagements with others, now a days, for he will be sure to be left in the lurch at last. I think in modern Treaties it wou'd be necessary always to insert this Condition: *Provided it turns out to our Advantage; or, so long as it suits our Interest;* altho' it is plain by their Conduct that they consider



sider such Conditions as imply'd. We have known Princes spirited up to enter into or continue, War with others, on the fair Promises and most solemn Assurances of those who set them on, only to serve their own Ends; Which having been once obtain'd, they have left their Friends to be sacrificed by their Enemies; nay have even made it one of the Articles of their Agreement, not to give them the least Assistance, or interfere in their Behalf. We have heard of others, who at the same time they have made a solemn Peace with one Prince, have enter'd into Engagements with their Neighbours to fall upon him the very first Opportunity. — But to let these Things pass, I was inform'd by a *French* Marquis, who arrived here but the Day before Yesterday, that there was Talk at *Paris*, as if the King, intended, when you tripp'd off, to be his own Prime-Minister. I have endeavour'd to persuade him to it, return'd the Cardinal, and it would redound greatly to his Interest as well as Glory, was he to take my Advice: but whether he will have the Resolution to undertake so fatigueing a Task, may be doubted. Do you think said the Duke he has Capacity enough?

He does not want Understanding, answer'd the Cardinal, and is pretty well acquainted with the Interest of the neighbouring Princes as well as with his own: so that a few Months Application will make him a very good Statesman. Princes who would reign with Glory and Security, ought to look into Affairs with their own Eyes, and steer the

Helm of Government with their-own Hands. If they trust to Ministers, and they shou'd prove either Fools or Knaves, how soon may they be undone? for by their Mismanagements they will either render their Masters odious to their Subjects, or contemptible to their Neighbours. Ministers are generally for enriching themselves and oppressing the People: if they mind their Masters Interest, 'tis to serve their own; and when they have incurr'd the popular Hatred, they, to support themselves against the People, put their Princes on such Measures, as in the End will make them odious also.

I believe Ministers for the general to be wicked, said the Duke, but I am of Opinion, some without giving any just Cause of Offence, have been maligned by the People; and that many have suffered for the Faults of their Masters. Those reply'd the Cardinal, who oppress the People at the Instigation of their Prince are no less to blame, than if they did it of their own Accord, and deserve to suffer for the same. A Minister should endeavour to divert his King from entering upon a bad Measure, and rather resign than have a Hand in executing it. The Resignation of his Post, said the Duke, is a very loathsome Pill to a Minister; nor is the Loss of Interest more cutting than the Disgrace.

'Tis no Disgrace but an Honour to resign in a just Case, reply'd the Cardinal, and the Loss will be sufficiently recompensed by gaining the Affections of the People, who will on all Occasions endeavour

endeavour to exalt such as have suffered for their Sake. I must own, I should much rather choose to have the People's Favour than the Prince's: it is commonly more solid and lasting. A King may discard his Minister out of Caprice, or may be compell'd thereto to appease the Clamours of his Subjects: for the most arbitrary Prince, if he be not infatuated, will scarcely venture to keep in a Minister against the Inclinations of the People. That wou'd be putting them to Defiance, and taking the Crime of the Minister upon himself; that wou'd be to let them see he valued an infamous Favourite or evil Councillor, beyond the Welfare of all his Subjects, which is an Affront not to be digested. From thenceforth therefore he must be perpetually on his Guard; and look on them as his Foes, who before were his faithful Friends. For my part I think not only a Minister, but a King himself ought to resign, when he has lost the Affections of the Nation: for he can never be truly happy or easy afterwards; of which the History of all Countries is full of Instances.

For Kings to think of resigning is still more difficult than for Ministers: they would sooner carry Matters to the utmost Extremities; nay often wou'd run the Hazard of being dethroned, rather than yield a reasonable Point to their People, or redress one Grievance. Flatter'd with the Vanity of Grandure, they deem it beneath their Dignity to restore any Prerogatives they have once gotten, however unjustly into their



Hands; and after they have endeavour'd in vain by Force of Arms to maintain their Usurpation, rely at last on that Tenderness, which Subjects commonly have to their Sovereigns.

Princes have but a very weak Dependance on a People whom they have thoroughly exasperated: the two famous Revolutions in *England*, in the last Century are Instances of this Truth; and methinks it would have redounded abundantly less to the Dishonour of both *Charles I.* and *James II.* to have done their People Justice in time, than to cringe to them in so sneaking a Manner as they did at last to no Purpose. Princes are but Men, and as they often do those mean unjust Actions, which the meanest of their Subjects wou'd be asham'd to commit, so where they have abject Dispositions, they have abject Souls, and can truckle to any Thing when Necessity compels.

Altho' as a Statesman, reply'd the Duke, I always spoke in the Language of the Court, and extoll'd the Character and divine Right of Kings, yet I was always convinc'd that Princes were made for the People, not the People for them. This last Notion is so absurd, in its own Nature that one wou'd wonder that any rational Creature, such as Man is, cou'd possibly entertain it, if we did not consider what Pains is taken both by the Civil and Ecclesiastical Politicians to blind and mislead their Reason. Were Princes to see with what little Respect they are treated here, and how severely they suffer for the Injuries they did their  
Subjects



Subjects in the other World, they would study how to govern well, and oblige their People, instead of tricking, fleecing and enslaving them. The exacting a more than ordinary Veneration for Princes, and ascribing to them enormous Powers, as their inherent Right, or necessary for the Ends of Government, are ministerial Arts: for unless Kings have more Power than they ought, Ministers can never dare to injure the People. If a Nation therefore wou'd be happy and free from the Oppressions and Usurpations of Princes and their Ministers, they must intrust them with not a Grain more of Power than is barely necessary for executing the Laws, and keeping the Peace of Society. They shou'd reserve to themselves the Power of constituting all Officers whatever, both Civil and Military; they shou'd not suffer a single Place-man or Officer under the Crown to sit in the Senate; or have the least to do in making the Laws or electing Senators; they should never employ mercenary Soldiers, but train the Militia for their Defence. Lastly, they shou'd be extremely circumspect, in allotting the Maintenance of their Princes, that they do not put it in their Power to bribe the Senators by secret Pensions.

I must confess, said the Cardinal, that I think a Government cannot be too popular, that is, the People cannot possibly reserve too much Power in their own Hands. It is not possible any Prince can have their Interest so much at Heart as themselves. The Sovereign who is in the least indepen-

pendent of the People will naturally have an Interest and Intentions inconsistent with theirs. He will continually be endeavouring to enlarge his Prerogative at the Expense of their Rights; his Ministers by Means of Places and Pensions will daily gain Votes in the Senate, and incroach on the Liberties of the Community. While these Proceedings are on Foot, the Nation will be in perpetual Alarms, Jealousies and Destructions, which must end in Civil Wars; the End of which must be Slavery, or the Ruin of the Prince. But if the People vest the Prince with no more Power than what is just necessary for the Uses of Government, as he will have no Opportunity of extending it, so they will be free from the abovementioned Evils. 'Tis true, this popular Government will itself be liable to Inconveniencies (as none can be quite free from them) but not so many and great as the other will be liable to. Factions and Feuds may indeed arise from Time to Time, but will soon subside again: they will not be continually on Foot, nor can they often arrive to any dangerous Height. The Authority of the Prince will always be able to suppress them in Time. I have often admired that those Nations who have suffered for several Ages successively, by parting with a little too much Power at first to the Prince, have not, whenever they had an Opportunity, rectified that grand Mistake. Methinks after experiencing the Evils of one Maxim or Measure of Government for so long a Time, they ought to have tryed another.

Altho'

Altho' this seems surprizing at first Sight, replied the Duke, yet it is very easily accounted for, when we consider how vastly People differ in their Notions about Government ; and that at the Time of a Revolution they have seldom agreed upon any proper Scheme thereof : so that when they come to settle their Constitution, they are as much divided and puzzled to give it a just Form, as if they did not know the true Causes of their Grievances. The Prince, tho' defeated, will still have his secret Influence and Advocates in all the Consultations of the People. Many even of those who pass for Patriots will thro' Weakness or Corruption, still plead for lodging some of those very Powers in the Crown, by which the Constitution of their Country was lately overthrown. Whereas if the People wou'd ever be safe or easy, not one ought to be left which was capable of being abused, to the Danger of their Liberties or Properties : for the Example of former Princes will never deter their Successors from attempting to be absolute, and renewing their Attacks. You see the Fate of *Charles I. of England*, was no Warning to his Son *James*, nor will his to future Kings: But had his Power been sufficiently limited, it wou'd have been happy for themselves, as well as the Nation, because they cou'd not then have exasperated them ; and their Posterity might have reigned there at this Day. A Prince therefore who desires Powers, that may, if abused, hurt his People, is his own Enemy; and those who wou'd persuade the People to grant him  
such



such, let them put on what Disguise they will, are at Heart Traitors to their Country, and do it with a View to render Ministers uncontrollable, and enable them to be rapacious with Impunity.

By this Time they had passed thro' the Wood, and come to the Side of a vast Lake, called *Avernus*, which sends out thick Vapours of so poisonous a Quality, that Birds flying over it are struck dead therewith. Here they found Crouds of Mortals waiting for a Passage to the other Side, in the Ferry Boat, which was conducted by *Charon*; a dirty decrepit Fellow, in a long tattered Gown, with a Rag tyed round his shrivelled Forehead, his Beard hung down to his Knees, and he wore Nails much longer than those of *Chinese Mandarins*. He was just return'd from ferrying People over, and made a sad Noise because those who waited for him, did not get fast enough into his Boat.

The Cardinal to avoid having any Dispute with the testy old Fellow, made what haste he cou'd to embark with his Company. As soon as they put off from Shore, *Tenhard* renew'd the Discourse. There has been a strong Rott of late among the Cardinals, said he, no less than 24 Hats being to be disposed of: but I was very much surprized, when I heard of your quitting the Earth, considering when I came away about three Years ago, you seem'd hale enough to have lived 20 or 30 Years longer: Pray may I enquire into the Cause of your Death? The Cardinal paused a While at this Question, and sigh'd,



sighed, as if unwilling to make any Answer to it, but at last he delivered himself in the following manner: The apparent Cause of my Dissolution was an Impostume in my Throat; but the real Cause, since I must confess the Truth, was the late turn of Affairs in *Europe*, particularly the Change of the Ministry in *England*, and falling off of the *Prussians* from the *French* Confederacy. My chief Dependance was on those two Powers, which I thought, I had effectually secured, especially the *British* M——r, who had been under my Influence, for many Years past; and did every thing I advised. I cannot express the Shock which the first News of his precipitate Retreat from the Helm gave me. I considered it as portending the Overthrow of my Grand Scheme: and tho' I began to recover again, on finding the new M——rs fall into all his Measures, after so long opposing them, on account of their apparent Tendency to ruin the Nation, yet the Desertion of *Prussia*, happening soon after, it threw me into a Relapse, which I could never get over.

How came the *English* M——r to quit his Post, said the Jesuit? Did he do it of his own Accord, or was he compell'd to it?

He was in Reality compell'd to it, reply'd the Cardinal, tho' he seem'd to do it of his own Accord. He quitted it only when he saw he cou'd hold it no longer: But quitted it in the most unadvised rash manner, that cou'd be. Had he tampered with the pretended Patriots, and grati-

fy'd them but half as much as they have been gratified since (for he often assured me he knew their Price to a Man) he might have still continued in Place: But by resigning his Employments before he had sounded, or rather had engaged them, he ran a dangerous Risk; and might have fallen a Sacrifice for his Folly, to the Resentments of his Nation, who only wanted an Opportunity to be revenged on him for his Treachery to them, and Attachment to me.

What you tell us, said the Duke of *Riperda*, is a strange Instance of Folly indeed: I am curious to know how he came to be guilty of such a Blunder, or the Patriots to spare him when they forced their Way into Play in Spite of him.

As for his committing a Blunder of that Kind, I do not admire at it, his Administration was full of Blunders. I was forced to guide him like a Child in Leading Strings, for if I left him but a Moment to himself, he was sure to commit some egregious Mistake; and tho' he was punctual enough in putting any Measure in Practise which I advised, was it ever so detrimental to his Nation, yet he sometimes defeated my Ends, by misapprehending my Instructions. He was a Man of Parts, but very little acquainted with foreign Affairs; so that, if he had not been my Pensioner, I cou'd easily have made a Dupe of him. I often conceal'd my real Designs from him. I have caused him to set out Fleets and raise Armies, as if for his Masters

ters Security, when in Reality it was to serve my own Country, at the Expense of his. I have persuaded him to make War this Year on one Prince in behalf of another, and the next Year to change Sides and fight against him whom he had assisted before. I have caused him to negotiate contradictory Treaties with several Powers one after another, and to renounce the natural Allies of his Nation in Favour of its Hereditary Foes: In short, he blindly executed every Plan I proposed, for he left Things wholly to me; and knowingly or unknowingly quite overturn'd the Balance of Power, and ruin'd the Interests of his Nation, abroad, which his Successors pretend to restore.

With Respect to the Conduct of the pretended Patriots he had to deal with, 'tis to be sure such as is not to be parallell'd in the History of any Nation in the World. These Men were the chief of the Party which opposed him, and had been inveighing against him and his Measures incessantly for these 20 Years past. They charg'd him in the public Senate with embezzling the Wealth of the Nation, invading the Liberties of the Subject, and weakening the Constitution; with filling the Senate with Placemen and Pensioners in order to procure what Laws he pleased; with keeping up Standing Armies to awe the People, and with letting the Trade and Manufactures run to ruin, in order to impoverish the Nation, the better to carry on his Designs of enslaving them; they charged him with being in Confederacy with me, and a



Pensioner of *France* ; in short with ruining his Country at Home, and sacrificing their Interests abroad. Their Speeches not only confirmed the People in their Suspicion of the Man, and gave them a greater Sense of the Evils that every Day poured in upon them, but animated and exasperated them to the utmost Degree. In so much that by the vigorous Effort they made at the next Election which came on, they gained a small Majority in the Senate : or perhaps their Success is to be attributed more to his Neglect, of making Interest at that critical Juncture, being too much elated at having baffled a Motion of theirs to remove him a little before. However that was, the Majority encreased every Day by the Time Servers who fell off from his Party, seeing him lose Ground. This caused him to resolve to make his Retreat, which he did in the precipitate Manner I mentioned before.

But to pursue the History of the Patriots. As soon as my Friend had resign'd his Posts, they appointed a Committee to enquire into his Conduct ; who in their Report detected him of embezzling the public Treasure several Ways, of invading the Liberties of the People, and endeavouring to overturn the Constitution. Nothing cou'd be conceiv'd in stronger Terms than this Report : Nor cou'd any Charge be supported by more convincing Arguments. Yet after all this, by admitting these active Gentlemen into Employments, all Proceedings were quashed

quashed at once; and the next Session when it was moved to renew the Enquiry, the Patriots who had been so zealous formerly against him, voted against it: Nay, after they had demonstrated to the Nation by the most undeniable Arguments that this Man had brought them to the very Brink of Ruin; after they had shewed them the Precipice, and convinced them that there was no Possibility of avoiding it, but by overthrowing the Measures as well as the Man; yet after all this, those very Patriots not only spared the Man, but fell into his Measures, which they had so long opposed before. Did they in this exculpate his Measures, or did they incur the Guilt of them? Did they really renounce their former Principles, or did they play the Hypocrites, for so many Years, only to deceive the People, and obtain their own Ends?

However that be, said the Jesuit, I think the People ought for the Future never to give the Name of Patriots to any before they are tried: Nor after such an abominable Instance of Perfidy can any Person whoever take it ill if the People will not confide in him without giving them some previous Security for his Fidelity.

This is not the first Time, said the Cardinal, that the *English* have been duped by their Patriots: In short, they have continually been duped by them, in all Times: for the Moment they have gotten into Places, they have turned Tail; tho' never, in such Shoals at a Time, before.

before. But you know an uncommon Credulity, Inconstancy, and want of Resolution is the Characteristic of that Nation : They had been always deceived by T——rs under the Name of Patriots ; and were therefore particularly warned at that critical Juncture not to choose any, without obliging them before hand to follow their Instructions, and not to accept of Places under the Crown, during their sitting in P——t : The chief Cause to which they in reality owe all their Grievances, and which they can never hope to have redressed, 'till that be removed. Declarations of this Kind, especially upon Oath, might have been some Security to them : But I cou'd never find that any Electors ever put their Candidate to that Test ; and I have heard that some even told their Rep——ves that they wou'd not give them any Instructions, but depended on them on Account of their former Conduct ; not considering that they might never have been tempted with a Place, by the Minister ; who had then more at his Devotion than he had Occasion for. If Senators can act independent of the Instructions of their Constituents, how can they possibly be said to be their Rep——ves ; for they represent themselves, not their Electors ? And if People will be so infatuated, as not to take care, after so many Disappointments, that they shou'd be represented, they deserve to suffer ; as indeed they have always done, and always must.

There



There is one Thing in the late Minister's Conduct, continued the Cardinal, which seem'd to me as impolitic as his precipitate Flight; and this is that he did not make Friends with his Adversaries before they had published their Report: Had he a Mind to furnish the Nation with a Proof of his Crimes, and Grounds to call him at any Time hereafter to an Account? or only to expose his Accusers the more, by letting the Nation see that all they wanted was to get into Places, as he, by his mercenary Writers, had all along intimated; and that in reality after all their pretended Patriotism, the Nation had nothing more to expect from them, than their Predecessors?

Here opened a shocking Scene: those very Men who for so many Years had speech'd against Standing Armies, Septennial P——ts, Placemen sitting in the H——se, and accused the late Minister with encreasing the Debts of the Nation, loading them with Taxes, squandering the public Treasure, neglecting the War with *Spain*, and pursuing various Measures destructive of the Interests of his Country, now voted for continuing those Evils they before complain'd of; lay'd on more Taxes, and not only neglected, but quite abandon'd the *Sp--sh* War; rais'd more Forces than ever, and granted more Money than ever the former M——y had done. At the Head of these Patriots were two Men who had been more clamorous than the rest; one of whom, on Account of his extraordinary Talents,

lents, and seeming Zeal, was become the Doating-piece of the People to such a Degree, that they looked on him as a Saviour, and cou'd have trusted him singly with all their Liberties and Properties. On the other Hand upon the Flight of the late M——r he became so powerful, that he cou'd have done for them whatever he pleased, or they cou'd have desired. But see the Effect of human Weakness, or rather the evil Inclinations of a corrupt Heart! this Man (instead of making the People happy, by restoring their shattered Constitution, redressing their Grievances, and punishing the Author of them, as he had so often in the most solemn Manner vowed to do, which wou'd have render'd his Name dear to all Posterity) betrayed their Interests for a Shadow of Honour; and sacrificed his Conscience to purchase eternal Infamy with a Title, which he has no Posterity to inherit. Making use of the Confidence reposed in him, he by various Delays and Artifices, postponed the Redress of the Nations Grievances, and by this Means gained Time for their Enemies to strengthen themselves by the Addition of false Patriots (like himself) in the S——te; which suddenly turned Affairs into the old Channel, and disappointed all the People's Hopes at once. So that instead of relieving them, he has made their Case more desperate than ever; and whereas the late Minister only forged Shackles for the People, this Patriot may be said to have rivetted them on. His Brother in Iniquity,  
 who

who succeeded to a distinguishing Post of the late M——r, pulled off the Mask without mincing the Matter, and at the very first Instance voted against a Pl——B——ll, which was the favourite Point he had pushed for many Years past, and had undertaken to carry in Behalf of Liberty; as the other had done against Triennial El-ct--s, which he had so zealously urged the Necessity of before. Had these two Leaders proved staunch, in all Probability the other Patriots would have followed their Example, awed thro' Fear or Shame; but seeing their Chiefs take the dirty Road, they crouded after them thro' thick and thin, like a Parcel of Sheep following their Bell Weathers. In no fewer than fifty or three Score of them, not above two or three stuck to their Principles, and refused the Wages of Iniquity.

What encreases the Wonder, or rather aggravates the Thing, this Degeneracy was not among Persons of necessitous Circumstances or inconsiderable Fortunes, but Men of the greatest Estates and Families; which plainly shews that Covetousness is more to be guarded against than Indigences: for a poor Man *may* be corrupt, but a covetous Man *must*.

After such a flagrant Instance of Treachery, such a general Apostacy among the Rich and Great, ought not B——ns to have the Words of the Psalmist perpetually in their Hearts and Mouths, *Put not your Trust in Men, nor any Confidence in Princes.* Thus were the People undone once



more by relying on the Name of Patriots, a Bubble they had been deceived by a hundred Times before; and thus they suffered by their pretended Friends, more than they had done by their open Enemies: for in Effect the little Finger of the Patriots, during the time they have reign'd, has been heavier than the Loins of their former Oppressors, and the People detest them more. The worst on't is that they have no Prospect of Help from their R——yes, as in former Days: for what good can they expect from Ministers who are Legislators, or Redress of Grievances from a S---te of Placemen? They have, in short, no Remedy for it now but the last, and that is a desperate one: nor is it probable that they would mend their Condition much, in case they had the Power in their Hands, for want of knowing how to keep it, or laying a sure Foundation to build their Constitution on, as I before observed. 'Tis to be apprehended, that those, who have always hitherto lost the Opportunities of securing their Happiness, and been Dupes to designing Men, will be the same to the End of the Chapter.

The Duke said, this Defection was not surprizing if it was considered that a true Statesman shou'd be void of Principles or Integrity: that he ought to be as playable as Wax, to change himself like *Proteus* into every Shape, and vary his Behaviour as a Camelian does his Colour from one Extream to another, just as it suits his Interest; He must learn to cringe to his Superiors before their Faces, and talk ill of them behind their Backs; and when

when he has a turn to serve, court his Inferiors, whom at other times he ought to treat with an Air of Distance and Grandure; he must make Promises without the least Intention to perform them; swear the thing is true, which he knows to be false; and make the most solemn Profession of Friendships and Sincerity to those whom he has resolved to injure, supplant or betray. When out of Place he must complain of Grievances which he never intends to redress; and condemn corrupt Measures, which when in play he resolves himself to pursue. As these are the Qualifications of those who aim to rise at C—r, how can People expect better of such.—— But added the Duke, if the new M—r's fall into all the Measures of the old, how come the latter to be turned out.

Few or none of them were turned out, reply'd the Cardinal, but the Patriots were so greedy of Places, that to get in themselves, they suffered the old M—rs to retain theirs, only making a few Changes or Removes from one Post to another. This to be sure was the most impolitic Thing they could have done, and must infallibly prove their Ruin at last: For the old M—rs who are by far the more numerous and powerful, as having the K— on their Side, let them go on for a While only waiting a fit Opportunity to turn out two or three of the leading Men, and then the whole Administration of Affairs will revert into their own Hands, as it was in the Time of the late

M——r ; who in Effect, tho' out of Post, governs all Things behind the Curtain still as much as ever, and 'tis thought will then resume the Place of prime or sole Manager again. Had the pretended Patriots but stood firm, they might have gain'd their Point, without submitting to any Terms; for the old M——rs were in so great a Consternation, when they saw the Patriots had gain'd a Majority, in the Senate, that the Chiefs of them were ready to follow their Leader, and take to their Heels; they would gladly have quitted their Employments to be indemnify'd for their past Conduct, and the Patriots might have gotten into Places without renouncing their Principles, or sacrificing the Interest of the People.

I should be pleased, said the Duke, to have a more particular Character of the B——sh Minister, and know in what Part of his Conduct he differed from you. The B——sh Minister and I, reply'd the Cardinal, both acted for the Grandure of the King preferable to the Good of the People. We acted with the same View, but on different Motives. He to enlarge the Prerogative of the Crown for his own Ends, and secure himself by Power against the Resentments of the People; I to aggrandize the Monarchy without farther oppressing the People, by laying on new Loads. He acted with a View to share in the Plunder of the Nation, and if he obtain'd any exorbitant Grants or Supplies for his Master, was sure to have a large Share himself. I had no  
View



View to amass Riches. He is become very wealthy by his Post, I have dyed very poor. He put his Family into the richest Posts in the Government, and provided for his most distant Relations; I opposed the Preferment of those who were of nearest akin to me. He to compass his Ends, impoverished the People, and went far to enslave them: I found the Nation already enslaved, and if I did not make Things better, I made them no worse, and so avoided the Hatred he has incurred, by a contrary Conduct.

Here the Cardinal having ended what he had to say with relation to the *British* Affairs, *Tenhard* who was impatient to enquire after those, which concern'd the Empire, seized the Opportunity, and desired that the Cardinal wou'd favour him with an Account of the War there.

Alas Sir, answer'd the Cardinal, you propose to renew my former Sorrows, but since you desire it, I will gratify your Curiosity in some measure: Altho' I advised my Master to guaranty the Succession of the Imperial Dignity, to the House of *Austria*, yet it was always my Design to take Advantage of the Emperor's Death, when it shou'd happen, and support the Pretensions of the Elector of *Bavaria*, to the Empire, in order to pull down the House of *Austria* (which was the only Power on this side *Russia* that cou'd obstruct my Masters Views at any time of extending his Dominions in *Europe*) and set up another Family in its stead, which should be too weak to oppose the Designs of *France*. Nothing cou'd happen  
more

more favourable to my Hopes than the sudden Invasion made by the King of *Prussia* into *Silesia*. Upon this I immediately set all my Engines to work, engaged some Princes over to our Interest by Subsidies, and fomented Wars against those who cou'd not be brought into my Measures. Having thus secured all the Powers of *Europe*, or kept them employ'd, I immediately poured a considerable Army into the Heart of *Germany*, by which Means I caused the Duke of *Bavaria* to be chosen Emperor by the Electors, whom I had bribed to my Interest, or awed by my Arms.

Having gained this grand Point, I was greatly elated in my Thoughts, and imagined nothing now cou'd thwart my Projects. But alas! how short is human Foresight! how vain the most promising Hopes of Mortals! The Queen of *Hungary*, whom I then look'd upon, as a contemptible Enemy, and like a Hare run down by the Hounds, ready to be torn to pieces by the Potentates who were actually in War with her, or forming new Pretensions to part of her Dominions; this magnanimous Queen I say (for I must do her Justice) this second Queen *Elizabeth*, exerted herself with more than manly Spirit; and recruiting her Army in the very Depth of Winter, obtained surprizing Advantages, by the Bravery, Conduct and Hardiness of her Troops, while our poor weakly spindle shank'd *Frenchmen* cou'd not so much as endure the Weather, but dyed with Cold like rotten Sheep.

This

This fretted me not a little ; however, I considered it as a Misfortune which our Troops wou'd easily retrieve in the following Spring : But to my great Mortification, before the Spring came, the *British* M——r quitted his Post, whereby my Dependance on that Side dropped for some Time ; and what was worse, ere Summer was well begun, the King of *Prussia* withdrew from the Alliance, and made Peace with the Heroine, whose Troops had given him a severe Brush. By this unexpected turn of Affairs I saw all my promising Scheme dashed to pieces ; and this Shock I never cou'd recover. The Desertion of the King of *Prussia* was followed by that of the King of *Poland*, so that the *French* Army in *Bohemia* being thus abandoned, was left to shift for itself ; and those who a little before were Masters of the whole Country, and talked of going to lay Siege to *Vienna*, found themselves reduced to the Necessity of penning themselves up in *Prague*, to avoid being destroyed by the *Austrians* ; who now came down upon them with their whole Power, and animated with Resentment, threatened to give them no Quarter. There were in the Town 25,000 of our Troops against double the Number of *Austrians* who besieged them : My whole Concern now, instead of prosecuting my Scheme, was how to deliver this Army from Destruction. After all Proposals to the Queen of *Hungary*, and other pacific Means, had been tryed in vain, I was obliged to order an Army of 60,000 Men,



Men, which were quartered in the North West Parts of *Germany*, with a View to keep certain Princes in awe, to march to their Relief. This was a fatal Necessity, and what I knew the *German* Princes wanted: But it could not be avoided. Some wished those Troops in *Bohemia*, that they might be eased of the Burthen, or more at Liberty to act; and others in Hopes that they wou'd be cut off by the Sword of the Enemy, or the Rigor of the Winter, which was then coming on, as in Effect they were: for they were so harrassed with continual Marches in Frost and Snow, and so vigorously attacked on all Occasions by the indefatigable *Hussars*, that out of both the Armies, scarce one Half returned into *Bavaria*, where they withdrew; and that in so lamentable a Condition, that they were quite unfit for farther Service. My Heart aches still at the Thoughts of the Ruin of such fine Troops, and the Loss of so many thousands of Men. What the King will do to retrieve this dreadful Misfortune, brought upon him thro' my mistaken Zeal for his Glory, I cannot comprehend: but for my part I was glad to leave the World in time, that I might no longer be a Witness of the Miseries of *France*, or hear the Reproaches of my Countrymen.

If you do not hear them there, say'd *Tenhard*, you will hear them here below. You have been already complimented by some of them, on the Occasion; and probably you'll meet with  
more

more of them before you reach the Palace. But pray, continued he, what was the Cause that the Kings of *Prussia* and *Poland* left you in the Lurch? the Loss of the Battle you mentioned could not sure be so considerable, as to occasion so sudden a Desertion?

Without Doubt it cou'd not, answer'd the Cardinal, tho' it was made an Excuse, and the loss for that purpose exaggerated. But *Prussia* had another Pretence, which was more plausible; and that was, the *French* not assisting him in that Battle, tho' he sent to them to join him: and some Traitor help'd him to a Copy of the Orders, which the General had, not to fight.

If that was the Case, reply'd *Tenbard*, I don't wonder at the King of *Prussia's* Conduct; nor cou'd you blame him yourself. I must confess said the Cardinal, I shou'd have acted in the same Manner, had I been in his Circumstances. It is a Maxim of War with us, where we assist other Powers to save our Troops as much as possible, and let the contending Powers destroy one another; to look on, but never hazard the Lives of our Soldiers without the utmost Necessity; and by that Princes Conduct since, he seemsto have adopted the *French* Maxim.

Methinks, said the Jesuit, your Scheme depended on a very precarious Footing, for the Moment your great Military Maxim was discovered, you might expect all your Allies wou'd abandon you; and what Nations will join their Troops to yours for the future, now the

Secret is come out, which had been long suspected. But pray if your Scheme had taken Effect, what Alterations wou'd you have made in the *German* Empire? Very great Alterations, answer'd the Cardinal: I wou'd have turned the Constitution of it quite upside down: after bulversing the House of *Austria*, I wou'd have obliged the Emperor to assist me in reducing all the other Princes of the Empire; after which I wou'd have caused him to be dependant on *France*, and all future Emperors to be elected by the Gallic Monarch.

'Tis great Pity, said Count *Hoymb*, who 'till now had been silent, that so excellent a Scheme did not meet with Success; then I should doubtless have had the Pleasure of seeing my unhappy Fate reveng'd on the E——r of *Sax——y*; and I mine say'd *Sufs*, on the Duke of *W——g*.

Alas! said *Tenbard*, how little the public Benefit is esteem'd when set in Competition with our private; and how ready every Individual is to sacrifice the whole Community to his particular Interest or Revenge! It must be confessed, (continued he, directing his Discourse to the Cardinal) your Projects were very grand, yet you see a Woman has been able to baffle them all. 'Tis very true, to my Cost, answer'd the other. I must confess I was much mistaken in my Opinion of Things, and cou'd I have foreseen the Difficulties I met with, I shou'd never have enter'd into the War: Nay I soon repented of what I had begun, but had then  
gone



gone too far to draw back with either Honour or Safety. From the indifferent Figure the *Austrian* Troops made in the late War against the *Turks*, and the great Losses they sustain'd, I concluded, they wou'd have made but small Resistance. On the Contrary I found them all of a sudden exerting not only a surprizing Courage, but an extraordinary Conduct, both in the Field and Cabinet. This was owing to the great Genius and Wisdom of the *Hungarian* Queen, in the Choice she made of her Councillors as well as Generals; for after the Death of *Sintzen-dorf* every thing that passed in the *Austrian* Councils, which were open to me before, became an impenetrable Secret. I had no less Difficulties to struggle with on the part of our Allies: most of them, I was sensible, as *Germans*, hated the *French*, and therefore at Heart wished Success to the Queen of *Hungary*. The chief of our confederate Princes had no *Prime Minister*, nor trusted any Persons with his Designs; so there was no Diving into his Secrets; and as for the Emperor himself, we were forc'd to humour and amuse him like a Child, with Rattles and smooth Promises, for fear he shou'd clap up a Peace underhand with his Competitor: to which he was tempted by his Country having been ruin'd by the *Austrians*, and by the Instances of his Brother and other *German* Princes, whose Territories had been damag'd severely by the marching and quartering of the *French* Troops. When I left the World he was

more uneasy than ever; nor was it to be wonder'd at, since our Affairs, and consequently his, went worse every Day. It was even reported that he was carrying on secret Negotiations with the Queen of *Hungary*; and must be forced to agree with her unless the three armed Electors still stand Neuters, in which Case only *Lewis* will be able to assist him: How that will be, a very little Time must unravel.

After favouring us with an Account of your Scheme, said *Tenbard*, and the War carrying on in *Germany* in Consequence thereof; give me Leave to ask you what were your Views therein.

I had two Things principally in View, replied the Cardinal, one the Interest of the Roman Catholic Religion, the other the Extension of my Master's Power and Dominions. With Regard to the first Point, you know that notwithstanding the Zeal of the House of *Austria* for the Catholic Faith, they have not been able to propagate it thro' the Empire, on Account of the Power being divided among so many Princes of different Interests, whereas was it all united under one Sovereign, or the Emperor under the Direction of such a Power as *France*, then every Thing that could be desired for the Advantage of Religion might easily be effected. When our Arms had subdued the whole Empire in the Manner I mentioned before, I should have settled Things on such a Footing, as wou'd have established the Romish Faith all over it for ever. The Electors and greater Princes I intended to  
convert

convert into Missionary Bishops, for the Propagation of Popery in the *East* or *West Indies*; and the lesser into Abbots: This wou'd be the best Thing that could be done for the Good of their Souls. Their Revenues I wou'd have converted to the Use of the Church; and thus our Religion wou'd have thriven amain, while Heresy wou'd have been rooted quite out of *Germany*. As to the Queen of *Hungary*, my first Design was to have thrust her into a Monastery; but having been charmed with her martial Bravery, and gallant Resolution, I purposed afterwards to send for her to *Iffy*, to live with myself, and allow her the Pay of a Colonel of Horse, for Pocket Money. Her Husband I wou'd have made a *French* Abbot, which wou'd have been of great Advantage to him at our Court, where in Time he might have arrived to be one of my Order; which is a Dignity much preferable to that of Grand Duke, and gives one a Privilege to be ranked with Kings: for the Pope's own exprefs Words are, *Cardinals shall be esteemed equal to Kings*.

As to my second Point in View, continued the Cardinal, besides making the Emperor entirely dependent, and in Effect a Vassal of our Crown, the *Netherlands* and such Part of the *German* Provinces bordering on *France*, as I thought proper, should be yielded up and united for ever to that Kingdom: In short, after the *Galic* Forces had over run the Empire, I wou'd have cut and carved as I judged fit; and have layed



layed a sure Foundation for obtaining the *Universal Monarchy*, if I did not thoroughly compass that glorious Design, so long aim'd at by our grand Monarchs; the Execution of which I once flatter'd myself, was reserved for me.

*Germany* I perceive, said the Jesuit, wou'd have been infinitely obliged to you for the excellent Alterations you wou'd have made in her State, had your Scheme taken Effect: But as it has happen'd to fail, I fear in the first Place that the *Romish* Religion must suffer, and Heresy prevail, since one of the finest Provinces in *Germany* has already fallen into the Hands of the Heretics; and the Queen of *Hungary* was constrain'd to grant Liberty of Conscience to the *Hungarians* and her other Protestant Subjects in order to procure their Assistance to which in all Probability Popery in these Countries will owe its Ruin, as to them you owe the overthrow of your Designs. How cou'd you, who were a Dignatory of the Church of *Rome*, think of assisting a Protestant Prince to take Dominions from a Popish? Wou'd it not have been more for the Advantage of your Religion to let the Empire continue in the House of *Austria*, which was always eminent for its Zeal to the Church, than to have forced the Queen to give up one Province to Protestants, and tolerate Heretics in the rest, in order to prevent your Designs against her? Will the Emperor of your making, weak as he will be, ever have it in his Power to do any Thing for the Advan-

Advantage of the Church, equivalent to the Loss it sustains by the Alienation of *Silesia*?

I cannot say he will, reply'd the Cardinal, shou'd Things remain in their present unhappy Situation: But however unluckily Matters have turn'd out, my Design was good; for altho' I help'd a Protestant Prince to make Conquests on a Popish, I never intended to let him keep them. My Design was, as soon I had subdu'd the Queen of *Hungary*, and settled the new Emperor firm on the Throne, to turn the Arms of *France* against the *Prussian*, whose growing Power became the Object of my Jealousy; and take from him not only all his Conquests, but his other Dominions in *Germany*.

'Tis not improbable, said the Jesuit, that the Evils you design'd for others, may fall upon your own Country; and as your Scheme has turn'd to the Disadvantage of your Religion, so it may to that of your Nation: which, by your own Confession, being greatly exhausted, both of its People and Treasure, in consequence of the Havock made among its Troops, what if the *German* Princes and neighbouring States alarm'd at your Monarch's Ambition, and animated by his present weak Condition, shou'd unite with the Queen of *Hungary* to strip him of his unjust Acquisitions, and take from him *Lorain*, *Alsace*, and other Provinces in *Germany* and the *Netherlands*, which from Time to Time have been ravish'd from the Empire by Force or Fraud.

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'Tis true, reply'd the Cardinal, that your brave *Austrian Queen*, encouraged by the Successes of her Arms, has actually laid Claim to *Lorraine*, which she pretends my Master has forfeited his Right to by not performing the Conditions on which it was ceded to him. *England* also seem'd very busy in transporting Troops to her Assistance; the King of *Prussia* also keeps a large Army on foot; and a Confederacy was talk'd of as being to be form'd among the *German* Princes, not only to drive our Troops out of the Empire, but to attack *France*, on every Side, and to reduce her to such narrow Limits, that her Neighbours shall have nothing to fear from her for the future. I grant, were an Alliance to be form'd against *France* at this Juncture, like that towards the End of the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* tho' able then to resist all their Efforts, she wou'd now lye at their Mercy: but in my Opinion there is no great Danger of such an Alliance; the *German* Princes seem to have in View their own particular Interests, rather than assisting the House of *Austria*, whose Power they always wanted to humble; and wou'd be glad enough, that *France* shou'd do that Work for them, provided she was to reap no Advantages therefrom to herself. *England* seems to act still, as it did during the late M---rs Administration, solely for the Sake of *H-----r*. *Prussia* and *Saxony* by helping your Queen to subdue her present Enemies, may enable her to recover what they have gotten from her; there-



therefore will be cautious how they do it : and as for the *Dutch*, they are true Friends to their own private Emoluments, and consequently to us.

You may be mistaken in your Conjectures concerning what is to come Cardinal, said the Jesuit, as you have all along hitherto been. Altho' the *German* Princes were jealous of the House of *Austria*, they never car'd that the *French*, to whom they have an irreconcilable Aversion, shou'd interfere in the Matter : well knowing, that in spite of all their Promises, whatever they did, would be with a View only for their own Interest ; and tho' they now seem to stand neuter, they may be only watching a fit Opportunity to give them a Home Stroke. How are you sure *England* still acts only for the Sake of *H---r*? you know they had always the Balance of Power at Heart, which they now profess to espouse ; and as for the *Dutch*, they will fall in with the rest of course, when they see the Advantage quite on their Side.

I am sensible, reply'd the Cardinal, of the Grudge the Princes of your Nation bear the *French*, and how willing some of them are to do us a Mischief : but we have always a strong Party among them, and unless they all joined against us, they cou'd do us but little hurt. But when may you expect to hear of the *German* Princes being all united? As to *England's* Design to recover the Balance of *Europe*, 'tis a mere Chimera : Do you think her Ministers

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such

such *Don Quixots* as to attempt it on their own weak Force, without one other Power to assist them? What are all the Troops, national or hired, which they can bring into the Field, compared with the numerous Troops of *France*? God knows! they wou'd make but a Breakfast to one of our Armies. Besides, can you imagine the Balance to be their real Design, when the *Dutch* and *Prussians* take no Care of it? Are they more concern'd for its Preservation than those Powers? Can the *English* see the Danger the neighbouring Princes to *France* are in, better than they can themselves? Or are they so very kind and officious as to defend their Territories for them, tho' they will not do it themselves? *England* has nothing to do with a War on the Continent, at least in any Comparison so much as the *Dutch* and *German* Princes, who may be over run with the *French*, and yet *England* inno Danger from the latter so long as she keeps up her Fleets by Sea. In these lies her Safety; and this is her Element, to which all her Military Operations ought to be confined: and this is the Maxim of the Nation in general; which always shou'd be adhered to. Not that I think it is not their Interest to prevent the Enlargement of our Monarchy, and assist our Neighbours in doing it: but that Assistance ought to be given in Money only, since there are Men enough on the Continent; and they may be hired at much less Expence than they can be rais'd in *Britain*, and sent over from thence. As *Britons* likewise  
are

are a free People, and their Defence lies chiefly in their Navy, they ought to admit of no Measure that might give Pretence for raising Land Forces; because their Liberty may by that Means be destroy'd, as dear Experience has often shewn them.

Another strong Reason to convince you that the Design of forming an *English* Army in *Germany* is only for Sake of *H—r*, is that with Regard to the War with *Spain* in the *West Indies* and the Bay of *Biscay*, the present *M—rs* follow the steps of the old: nay what the latter did in part prosecute, the others have wholly neglected. 'Tis plain all the real immediate Interests of the *B—sh* Nation are postponed, if not sacrificed, to pursue one darling Point; and what foreign Interest can be more valuable than the *B—sh*, to a *B—sh* *C—r*, unless it be that of *H—r*?

I may be of your Sentiments, said the Jesuit, as to the Proceedings of *B—n*, about which I am not sufficiently satisfied: But leaving Things to turn out as they will, pray tell me if you think your Scheme was founded on upright Principles; or that any Thing can justify the Violation of the most solemn Faith of Treaties, such as was that of the *Pragmatic Sanction*?

I think Sir, reply'd the Cardinal, that my Proceedings can be justify'd by my already declared Intention to serve thereby my Religion and my King. In the first Place whatever is done for the Interest of the Church must be lawful.



According to this Maxim then, said the Jesuit, it is lawful to attempt the most wicked, most execrable Design, provided it be only directed in the least Degree to the Service of your Religion; for that will sanctify it: But is it not sayed, *You shall not do evil, that good may come of it*; and if so, how can serving your Church, excuse your committing a Breach of Faith?

You seem Sir, reply'd the Cardinal, in some Emotion, to have forgotten not only the History of the Bible, but the Doctrines and Practises of your own Church. Were not the Jews commissioned to defraud the *Egyptians*, by borrowing their Jewels, when they were going to quit *Egypt*? Were they not afterwards sent to destroy with the Sword, no less than seven whole Nations, the Inhabitants of *Canaan*? And were not these Proceedings, which in themselves are so wicked, and contrary to the Commandments, rendered lawful on Account of the Service done thereby to Religion and the People of God? What are all our Persecutions, Crusades, Massacres, Doagoonings and Inquisitions, but so many Murders, Barbarities and diabolical Practices, if separated from their Intention of serving Religion, which gives them a Sanction; and makes those Actions good and commendable, which were evil and abominable before?

Religion, return'd the Jesuit, cannot change the moral Difference of Things, and make that good, which was in its own Nature bad. That, answer'd the Cardinal, is speaking more like a  
Free

*Free-Thinker*, than a true Son of the Church. If you call this *Freethinking*, said *Tenhard*, you'll find none but Free-thinkers here, and you must be one yourself 'ere long. But to let this pass, and come to your political Reason, the Service of your King. I would be glad to know how that will justify the Violation of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Effusion of human Blood that Breach has occasioned?

Sir, reply'd the Cardinal, *Reason of State* has always been allowed sufficient to justify the Conduct of Kings or their Ministers, whatever it be; and if you dispute a Maxim of such universal Authority and Antiquity, there will be no talking to you. By this they may be free from any Engagement whatever: by this they may discharge themselves from the most solemn Oaths. This will justify them in acting contrary to their Promises, and forfeiting their Honour; in tricking their Subjects, and deceiving their Neighbours; in making Peace one Day, and breaking it the next. In short, this *sovereign* Catholicon, authorises every thing they do, right or wrong; and purges them from the least Stain of Infamy or Guilt.

You carry your Doctrine to a very high Pitch, said *Tenhard*, and give it the Power of Absolution itself. But however antient or universal this Maxim may be, it is never the more true or lawful on those Accounts: nor can it take Place but in arbitrary Governments; for in free Governments (I don't mean such as are only nominally so, but those where the People do really

really act for themselves) the People will seldom aim at more than securing their own Territories and promoting their Trade by just Means. They won't squander their Treasure and hazard their Lives on uncertain, vain, unjust, Attempts; or enter into War without a real Necessity, and when they do, will pursue it vigorously, 'till the Ends proposed be obtained. But when the Power of making War and Peace is vested in the Princes, how differently are Affairs commonly conducted? We shall sometimes see People dragged out by Thousands from their Houses, against their Wills, to be slaughtered; and a whole Nation drained of its Men and Treasure to support a chimerical, unjust and dangerous War, set on Foot by the Vanity or Ambition of a King, against the Inclinations of the People: at other Times we shall see a necessary and just War, enter'd into with the most ardent Wishes and Encouragement of the whole Nation, neglected or misconducted thro' the Malice or Treachery of a Minister; and the most promising Hopes of the People (who at setting out had all the Advantages imaginable against the Enemy) frustrated, after being at an immense Expence both of Blood and Treasure. This has been frequently the Case of a neighbouring Nation of yours; an Instance of which happened but very lately.

I have urged these Things to shew that Reasons of State are never lawful, when they deviate from the Rules of Justice and true Politics; which are the Maxims of good Government and Society. Give me leave to ask once for all;  
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Was the Pragmatic Sanction ratified to be kept or broken? If to be kept, why was it broken? If to be broken, on what Principle can you defend such wicked Perfidy?

I am surprized, reply'd the Cardinal, that a Jesuit shou'd ask such a Question? Are you ignorant of one of the most favourite Maxims of your own Order, that grand Specific for Scruples of Conscience, the *Mental Reservation*? Have not the Reverend Fathers *Suarez*, *Bauny*, and great Numbers of your Society, taught this Doctrine in their Writings? and will you who were of the same Society, condemn those who follow their Precepts?

Our whole Society, reply'd *Tenbard*, do not approve of the Doctrine of *Mental Reserve*; and in Case they did, it matters nothing here. The Scene is now changed: we are no longer the Inhabitants of a deceiving tricking World, where Subterfuges and Evasions stand for Argument. It will be expected here that you shou'd have squared your Conduct in the other Life, according to the Dictates of Virtue and Conscience; nor will your Precaution of receiving Absolution and the other Sacraments of your Church before you left the Earth, stand you in any Stead before the internal Judges, if you have not. Those are falacious Inventions (to serve the wicked Purposes of Priests in the upper World) which remain behind with the Body, whereto they are apply'd, nor accompany the deluded Soul into these Regions; and if they did, wou'd be of no Significancy to it: For every  
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Thing is tryed here by those strict unalterable Rules of *Reason* and *Justice*, which so much Pains is taken every where to run down in the other Life. Mankind eternally misled by their Rulers or Guides, generally proceed upon wrong Principles and mistaken Notions: But here there is no Interest of Parties to deceive them; and they are taught to correct their former Errors. In the World there is an infinite Number of different Religions and Sects; and every one thinks his own the Right: We find here that there is but one Religion, (as there ought to be on Earth) and of all others our own is the most irreconcilable with it.

Here the Cardinal seem'd much disturbed, and wou'd have continued the Discourse: but *Tenhard* waved it, by telling him that any farther Debate on those Subjects wou'd be of no Significancy; that he wou'd be heard as to the Reasons of his Conduct before the Tribunal of *Minos*, and that he wou'd have full Liberty to make his Defence: but assured him he must be prepared with very sufficient Arguments; for that Sophistry, Equivocations, Falacies, Quirks or Evasions, wou'd be of no Service to him before that Court.

The Boat being by this Time arrived at the other Side of the Lake, *Charon* set his Passengers on shore, and went back for another Fare. Here the Duke and the Jesuit took their Leaves of the Cardinal and his Guides, who marched forwards over a most hideous Wilderness (made still more frightful by the dismal Gloom of the Region)

Region) which reaches as far as the River *Acheron*. The Cardinal was extremely pensive on the Road, being so affected by the Words, which the Jesuit had utter'd last, that he did not open his Lips all the Way, and was not recover'd from his deep Cogitations when he came to that River. Here he found Boatmen, one of whom, according to Custom, gave him a large Cup of the Water to drink; which is as bitter as Gall to those who have not behaved well in this Life. The Cardinal made several wry Faces in swallowing it, and many Draughts before he got it all down, but say'd never a Word: After which they wafted him and his Guides over on Floats.

The Cardinal continued very pensive till he came to *Styx*, the sacred River, or rather Lake. On drinking a Cup of this Water, he was seized with the most horrible Pains in his Bowels: His Body swelled, till he was as big as an Ox; and his Face made such a Figure that both the Count and the Jew were frighten'd at him. This Effect the Water has on all those who have been guilty, or Advisers of Perjury, Forgery, Breach of Promise or Contract. At the same Time there appear'd an imperial Banner in the Air, with the Words *Pragmatic Sanction* written on it; the Sight whereof added to the Terror of the C——l, who roar'd like a Bull all the while he was in this Condition, which continued till he had pass'd the Lake and the *Cocytus*; a River that flows out of *Styx*, and by its lamentable groaning Noise, which resembles the howling of



the Damned, greatly encreas'd his Fear and Anguish: But as soon as he had got over the latter, the Swelling began to abate, 'till by Degrees he shrunk to his former Size and Form. They then travell'd on till they drew near the *Pblegeton*, or Fiery River, which flows with burning *Nafta*: At sight whereof the Cardinal was more dismayed than ever, and cryed out thro' Excess of Sorrow, *Alas! how shall I be able to endure this fiery Tryal!* He asked, was this River Purgatory? They told him there was no such Place; and that he was only to pass the Stream without drinking of it, as he had done of the former. That will mend the Matter but little, reply'd he, since I shall be broiled to a Cinder before I have gotten half way over. On the Bank of the River he was accosted again with Exclamations from whole Shoals of *French* Officers and Soldiers, who were there ready to cross. Here were Iron Boats for the Purpose, into one of which he and his Guides enter'd. They had scarce put off from Shore, when the C——ls Feet being grievously tormented by the burning Heat of the Boat, he began to skip from Side to Side and cut Capers like one possessed; all the while roaring most dreadfully, which gave some Pleasure to great Numbers of those who looked on from the River Side. He was in strange Agonies for a Time after he was landed; where having rested a while, his Guides set forwards, carrying him a Way more about, as is customary, in order to give new Comers a Prospect of the several Quaters into which the *Tartarian* Regions are divided.

After

After they had travelled a long time thro' a most dismal Wilderness like the former, they came in view of *Elysum*, where the Souls of the Good inhabit: For the Seat of Bliss, as well as Misery, is in the Realms below. Nothing could afford a more charming Prospect, consisting of the most delightful flowery Plains, verdent Fields, and shady Groves; blessed with the most temperate Air and resplendent Light, which distinguishes it from the other Regions of the Dead. The Cardinal was greatly revived at the sight of it, and wished to be a Partaker of its Felicities; but every now and then betray'd his Misgivings by a Sigh. At length they came to the side of the great Chasm or Gulph, unmeasurably wide and deep, which divides this Paradise from the rest of *Tartarus*; and as he travelled along it, he heard the most enchanting Music and other Harmonies: They beheld also the Inhabitants walking in Groupes, and conversing together in the most amiable manner. As the Cardinal seem'd very desirous to have some Account of those he saw, the Count undertook to satisfy his Curiosity a little. Yonder, said he, are the good Kings, and the other small Company the good Ministers, who have govern'd on Earth; yet, continued he, those are all of both sorts to be found in *Elysum*. Bless me! reply'd the Cardinal, their Number is very inconsiderable. That Company to the Right, said the Count, consists of such Legislators or Senators as have done Service to their Country by their Speeches or Votes; and that next to

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them,

them, of such as have merited by their Advice or Writings ; among which last he pointed out *Confufius, Plato, Socrates, Cicero, Berengarius, Wicklif, Luther, Cranmer, Tillotfon, Lock, Steel, Trenchard, Oldmixon, Collins, Tindal* and others. Where are the Popes, Cardinals, and *Romish* Saints, said *de Fleury* ? There are few or none here, reply'd the Count, nor scarce any Prelates, altho' you will see great Numbers of them in another Place. This shocked the Cardinal extremely. Shew me then, said he, the Martyrs ? There are no Martyrs here neither, answered *Hoymb*, on a religious account, altho' Persecutors are grievously punished elsewhere : But there are some political Martyrs yonder, pointing to a couple of Groupes, in the first of which he named *Curtius, Mutius Scaevola, Regulus, Felton, Cornish, Sydney, Russel* and others ; and the latter, he said, were a Band of *Chinese* Censors, who chose to die rather than be gain'd over by the Court to betray the Interests of the People.

The Way lay for a considerable time along the Frontiers of *Elyfium*, and then turn'd off ; after which it grew darker as they removed farther from it. At length they came to a Descent which led into a narrow Valley between two Ridges of naked Rocks. Here there was scarce any Light at all : The Air too was stiffling hot ; and its strong sulphurous Smell indicated their near Approach to the infernal Caverns. After some time spent in this horrible Road, they came to a Gate which shuts up a sort of subterraneous Passage. This is the Back-door of Hell :

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It was guarded within by a monstrous Dragon, which belch'd out Fire and Flames. The Gate having been opened they enter'd into the Passage; which is formed by the Mountains, closing at top. Here the Heat as well as Darkneſs increaſed exceſſively; inſomuch that if it was not for ſome overtures at certain Diſtances it would be impaſſible, for want of either Light or Air. The Horror of the Place was increaſed, by the Shrieks and Groans of the Torment-ed, which began to be heard, and grew louder, as they advanced. Being come to the End of this Paſſage, he entered into a wide Area, of a vaſt Extent arched over Head, with an Opening above, rather to let out the Smoak of this immense Furnace than to give Light; the Want of which was ſupply'd within by the Fires that appear'd throughout.

On each Side of this immense Cavern, there are infinite Rows of Appartments, running ſeveral hundred Leagues deep. Each Row is aſſigned to one Sort or other of Malefactors, whoſe Punishments are of different Kinds and proportioned to their Crimes. Kings who have harraſs'd Mankind by Wars, are continually dragged over ſharp Flints at the Tails of Horſes. Covetous Princes who fleece their People, are every Hour made to ſwallow melted Gold, or Silver. Tyrants ſuffer the Cruelties they inflicted on others: *Phalaris* is broil'd in his Brazen Bull; *Muley Iſmael* is ſtretch'd upon a Plank and Sawed by ſlow degrees along with it. Corrupt and Trai-  
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torous Ministers, are impaled; or continually drawn up by the Neck with Ropes, and let fall upon Hooks. False Patriots, or those who change their Principles for sake of Places, are hang'd by the Fundament, and made to eat their own Excrements. Gripping oppressive Governors and Placemen are bound together, Heads and Tails; the one swallowing what the other evacuates. Corrupt arbitrary Judges are hang'd by the Testicles, and their Skins head off to make Cushions for others. Evil Councillors are suspended on Hooks by their Tongues, and scourged with fiery Rods. Lawyers who make extortionary Bills of Cost, or injure their Clients by Treachery, Delays, or other evil Practices, drink Brimstone and Fire according to the Degree of their guilt. Religious Hypocrites are turned inside outwards, and their Viscera washed with scalding Oyl. Persecutors suffer the same Torments they inflicted on Heretics and Infidels, as Broiling on Grid-irons, tearing their Flesh off with burning Pincers, blowing up with Gunpowder, and the like. Those who broach false Doctrines, corrupt Religion, or divide Mankind into Sects or Parties, are crucify'd. Venal Senators who betray their Trust, and sell their Votes for Bribes and Pensions, have their Hands and Tongues cut off, every Hour; or are rolled in Barrels stuck on the inside with Spikes. Cruel Generals and other Officers, who delight in Blood and Slaughter, have their Limbs cut off by Piece-meal.

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The Cardinal was terrify'd to the most extreme degree, at these and the like Punishments, which he saw inflicted on Criminals in his Way thro' this dreadful Place. The Executioners are the Furies, armed with Whips and burning Torches: their Looks are terrible; and out of their Heads grow Snakes instead of Hair. Here likewise he saw the Monsters of Hell, the Harpies, Gorgons, Lamiae, Chimera and Sphynx, who all threaten'd him in their Turn: However he had the Curiosity to look into several Apartments as he passed along; particularly those which belong to Persons of the higher Ranks in Life, such as Emperors, Kings, and other sovereign Princes, Popes, Patriarchs and Bishops of all Degrees, and found them crouded. In that of the Popes he perceived all the Pontiffs from the time of *Gregory I.* and many of those who preceded him. Fifty whole Rows of Apartments were fill'd with secular Clergymen of all Religions, and above a hundred by Regulars. He was confounded to see, among these several Classes of Ecclesiastics, great numbers of those who were reputed Saints and canonized upon Earth; with the decreeing Bishops of most of the Councils, in seperate Apartments. Among the Persecutors he beheld the Inquisitors to a Man; and at the Head of them Saint *Dominic* impaled upon an iron Stake, and larded all over with lighted Candles, which burned into his Body. He was surprized to see several Princes, and other great Men, who in the World are supposed



posed to have deserved well of their Country, punished as Enemies to it: But things often appear in a different Light in the Realms below. Among others were the Emperor *Trajan*; and a certain great General very instrumental in bringing about the Restoration in *England* in 1660. Upon Enquiry *Hoymb* told him, the reason was that the first had not restored the *Romans* to their ancient Liberty; and the second had not made use of the fair Opportunity he once had in his Power of obtaining the most advantageous Conditions for his Countrymen, and rendring them perfectly free. He was no less amazed when, upon peeping into the Lodgings set apart for religious Impostors, he missed *Mahomet*; and asking where he was, *Sus* told him, that the venerable Person was He with the large Head, whom he saw talking in the *Elysium* Fields with the Philosopher *Confusius*; adding, that his Imposture had been excused at the Bar of *Minos*, because he had restored Natural Religion, to the utter destruction of Idolatry, both Christian and Pagan, over a large Portion of the Earth; and it appeared he could have effected his laudable Purpose by no other Means.

Having reached the farther End of the infernal Cavern, they went out thro' another narrow Passage, with a Gate like that they entered by, guarded by another Monster. This is the Gate of Hell, and opens just at the Back of *Pluto's* Palace. He went in by the Front-Gate, which is guarded by *Cerberus*, a three-headed Dog, whose Body is covered with Snakes instead of Hair;

Hair: but by this time the sight of dreadful Forms was become so familiar to the Cardinal, that he passed by the infernal Porter without flinching. However he was strangely affected at the Thoughts of approaching the Tribunal of *Minos*, on sight of which he fell a trembling; and was struck with such a Panic, as Words cannot express. The Court was then sitting, and all the three Judges were present. *Rhadamanthus* and *Æacus* sat on the first Bench; and *Minos*, who superintends their Judgments as Lord Chief Justice, on another above them, holding a golden scepter in his Hand.

His Guards having delivered him into the Hands of one of the Officers of the Court, took their Leaves of him and withdrew. Here he stood undistinguish'd in the Croud, while some who were on the List were tried before him. The *Asiatics* and *Africans* belong to the Judiciary of *Rhadamanthus*; the *Europeans* and *Americans* to that of *Æacus*. Among those who were tried were an Apothecary, a Surgeon, a Lawyer, and a Placeman. The Apothecary was accused by some for having killed them with his Physic, by giving them improper Medicines, either for want of knowing their Distempers, or in order to try Experiments; and by others with pouring in Drugs and Slops upon them unnecessarily, especially after they had been given over by the Doctor, in order to enhance his Bills.

Against the first Charge the Apothecary defended himself by alledging, that he prescribed  
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according to the Recipes of several eminent Physicians in the like Cases, and in so doing follow'd the common Practice of those of his Profession. He likewise pleaded their Example in bar of the second Charge. In Answer to this last Plea *Æacus* told him, he ought to be punished for using it; since he could not but be sensible, that the Crimes of his Brethren, for which they would be condemned, could not justify him; that he might as well plead Example in behalf of Robbery, Murder, or any other Villainy: That as to the other Part of his Defence to the first Charge, it was not much better, since the Circumstances of the Cases in which he made use of the Recipes of the Physicians, might for any thing he knew, be very different from those in which they had been prescribed; and the Life of Man was a thing of too great Value for him to trifle or play Tricks with, for the sake of a little Gain.

The Surgeon was charged with Mal-practice in order to furnish a Pretence for making large Demands. Some accused him with trapaning their Sculls for Wounds in the Head, which had not injured the Bone. Some affirmed, that he had kept slight Cuts, which might have been cured with a single Plaister, so long open, and treated them in so harsh a manner with improper Applications, that the Parts at length mortified and were forced to be cut off; whereby they not only lost their Arms or Legs, but their Livelyhood, by being disabled to work or attend Business.



ness. Others charged him with throwing them into Salvations (whence many of them lost their Lives, their Healths, or the use of their Limbs) only for the Itch, which might have been cured with two Pennyworth of Oyl of Bays: As the Facts were too evident to be denied, the Surgeon had nothing to say in his Defence.

The Lawyer, was accused with making unconscionable Bills; with spinning out Causes by unnecessary Delays, and making them pass thro' all the dilatory Forms of Court, for the Advantage of the several Offices as well as of himself; by wilful Neglects to occasion Non-suits, and so begin the Game again; with playing into the adverse Attorney's Hand, and giving him Advantages against his Clients: who, by that means, beside being put to vast Expences, often lost their Cause and were ruined.

The Prisoner in his Defence said, that he exacted no more nor higher Fees than the Court he belong'd to allow'd of, and deny'd the rest of the Charge; making use of several Evasions and Subterfuges; and endeavouring to baffle the Evidence by subtle Questions, pert Interrogatories, and bold Reflections. But *Æacus* soon stop'd his Career, and told him: That he must not think that his Quirks would do him any Service before their Tribunal; that the Accusers had proved their Charges against him, and 'twas in vain by Artifice to avoid Justice; that as to the first Article, the Practice of his Court was no Justification of him; that if his Court allow'd him to rob, it would be

no Excuse there; that the Fees of his Court he knew was a Grievance long complain'd of, and every now and then recommended to be redress'd; that altho' they had from time to time been less'n'd, it was so very little, that they still were deem'd extravagantly great: whence he could not but be sensible that in charging full Fees, he sinned against Reason and Conscience, which prevailed in the Court of *Minos*, if they did not in those on Earth. The Lawyer from the Sentence of *Æacus*, had the Assurance to appeal to *Minos*, who order'd him a fiery Drench extraordinary in the Day for his Audacity.

The Placeman, who had been first Minister to some *Asiatic* Prince, was charged by great numbers of his Countrymen, with imbezling the publick Treasure, loading them with Taxes and penal Laws, ruining their Trade, betraying their Interests to Foreigners, and endeavouring to enslave them at home by keeping up standing Armies, by corrupting the Peoples Representatives, and filling the Senate with Placemen.

The Prisoner's Defence was, that the People were turbulent, and that there was no way to humble them but by draining their Purses, by ruining their Trade, whence their Riches flow'd, which made them proud; or by awing them with Soldiers. That tho' a Minister was design'd for the publick Service, yet he is accountable only to the Prince; and tho' the Money he is paid with for his Service comes out of the Peoples Pockets, yet he is oblig'd only to the Prince  
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for his Wages; that accordingly, upon his being put into Place by the King, the Duty which before he owed the People as their Representative was cancelled, of which the Example of Statesmen in all times, and of a large Band of them very lately in a certain Kingdom, was a Proof; that those Senators who were out of Place, being always prejudiced in favour of the People, he had bestowed Places on them to take off that Bias, and save the Government from being overturn'd by the discontented Populace; that in short, every Measure he had taken was design'd for the Nation's Good, of which their Representatives were so sensible, that on the Peoples Complaint they had acquitted him without Trial.

The People, said *Rhadamanthus*, are never universally discontented but when there is real Occasion. Every one is so unconcerned for what does not immediately affect himself, that particular Grievances never produce general Discontents. Neither will a People go about to overturn a Government which is good: they understand their own Interests too well for that. If they have been turbulent therefore under your Administration, you must have made them so; and I find by their Evidence, that those Measures which you pretend were taken to humble them, were the Cause of their Discontents. This is confirmed to me by the Arguments you offer to prove you are not accountable to the People: In this you confess the Crime you endeavour to excuse. Your Defence is inconsistent with itself,



as well as Justice. A People are free no longer than they can control their Ministers or Governors ; for otherwise they cannot shake off Evils or help themselves when oppressed : If then you have reduced them to this slavish Condition, you have betrayed your Trust and overthrown their Liberty. Can any thing justify your becoming a Traitor to the People and invading their Rights ? Will you pretend it is for their Good to take away their Freedom ? and if it really was, what Right have you to do it ? Cannot a Free People dispose of themselves and direct their Affairs as they think fit ? Shall the Servant, as you are to them, pretend to control the Master ? By insisting that a Representative's Obligation to his Constituents is cancelled by his accepting of a Place, you only prove that the Qualities of Representative and Officer of the C—n, are utterly incompatible in the same Person, and for the general it must needs be so : But then by this Argument you confess, that you have destroy'd the Constitution of your Nation, by uniting the Legislative and Executive Powers, as you have actually done by crowding the Senate with Placemen. 'Tis to no purpose therefore to say, that nothing has been done without the Approbation of the Senate ; and that you have been acquitted by the Suffrages of the Senate : for that only proves them Parties in your Guilt, but does not exculpate you. A Senate of Placemen must of Course be your Creatures ; and as they share in your Rapines, will be sure to lend

lend you their Assistance in oppressing the People, and screen you afterwards from being called to an Account.

The Minister not having one Word to reply against Reasons so self-evident, at the Nod of *Minos*, Sentence was passed upon him; after which the Guards hurried him away to receive his Doom.

The Cardinal, who gave much Attention to these Trials, was struck with Dread at the strict Justice which he observed in the Proceedings of the Court, tho' without the least Severity, unless what appear'd in the Case of the Lawyer: But was most of all affected with the Statesman's, which being in some Respects allied to his own, gave him Forebodings of the Doom he was to expect himself. There were two or three other Trials after this, which being over, the Cardinal was set to the Bar, without any Ceremony, like the rest of the Prisoners; when Silence being ordered by the Crier, the chief Notary read his Indictment or Charge, which consisted of the five Articles following.

*First*, That he had raised great Commotions in the World by his Intrigues; fomented Wars between different States under a Mask of Peace; and had been the Cause of the Effusion of much human Blood, by interfering in the Quarrels of foreign Princes, when he had not the least Right; and even violating the most solemn Treaties, particularly the *Pragmatic Sanction*.

*Secondly*,

*Secondly*, That he had corrupted the Ministers of several neighbouring Kingdoms, in order to betray the Interests of their Country; and encouraged them in carrying on Designs for enslaving the People.

*Thirdly*, That the End of his Actions was not directed for the Good of his Nation, but solely to augment the Pride, Power, and consequently the Tyranny of the Prince.

*Fourthly*, That being an Ecclesiastic, he had meddled with secular Affairs, which according to the Laws of his own Church, were incompatible with that Function; and giving himself up to Ambition, had accepted the Place of Prime Minister.

*Fifthly*, That he embraced, taught and supported a false and wicked Religion, knowing it to be such, to the Destruction of Morality, the Dishonour of the Deity, and Evil of Society.

The Cardinal changed Colour often, and trembled all the time this Charge was reading: After which he paused a while, as it were to consider of what to say, and then spoke to make his Defence. In Answer to the first Article, (which was supported by the Evidence of great Numbers of Sufferers, both *French* and *Germans*, with the late Emperor at the Head of them, who looked most angrily at the Prisoner) he said, That the Generality of Princes in the upper World were so deceitful and unsincere, that it was absolutely necessary to make use of Dissimulation in one's own Defence; and as they never



ver scrupled to break their Engagements when ever it suited their Interests, he apprehended there was no Crime in behaving to such in the same manner as they did to others; that it was on this Principle that he had advised his Master to attack the Emperor in 1733, in Favour of King *Stanislaus's* Pretensions to *Poland*; that he might alledge the same Reason in excuse for acting contrary to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which however, he said was not binding, 1. Because not ratified by the whole Empire. 2. Because in guaranteeing that Settlement his Master intended to benefit the Emperor's Family without Prejudice to any other Person's Right; that as to the Bloodshed and other Inconveniencies that might have ensued, they were only Contingences which he was not accountable for, provided the Principles he went upon were justifiable.

To this it was answer'd by the Court, that altho' it might be allowable to oppose Fraud to Fraud, and to deal insincerely with Powers who made use of Insincerity, yet that did not appear to be the present Case; and he could not possibly think it lawful to use Fraud against those who did not use it against him, or to punish one Prince for the Crime of another; that therefore the Principle on which he would justify the two late Attacks upon the Empire must fall. That as to the Arguments alledged to prove the *Pragmatic Sanction*, not binding on his Master, they were egregiously trifling and evasive: for, first supposing that Treaty not

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ratified by the whole Empire, its not being binding, could have Reference only to such Parts thereof as concerned the Empire. Then what can be more imposing than to plead your Master's Intention to Benefit the Emperor's Family, only provided no Prejudice accrued to the Right of any other Person, since the Guarantee expressly stipulates, that *France* shall defend the Heir (designated by the *Pragmatic Sanction*) against all Pretenders; that is, against all Persons without Exception, whether they had a Right or no Right; whether he had before engaged to espouse their Interest or not: In this last Case he ought not to have signed the Guarantee; but having done it, he ought at least to have stood neuter. That it was better to have afforded the Heir no Assistance (tho' that had been a Breach of his Contract) than actually to draw his Sword upon her, especially after he had acknowledged her in Quality of Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; and had assured the foreign Ministers at his Court, that he would most religiously perform his Guarantee, which quite destroys your Exception. That therefore it plainly appearing that the Principles he went upon were wrong and unjust, he ought to look upon himself as accountable for all the Slaughter and Mischiefs that ensued by the War. At this both *French* and *Germans* who had died in the Wars gave a great Shout, and withdrew along with the Emperor.

To support the second Article of the Charge Count *Hoymb* before-mentioned, Count *S-----f* and others were summoned. There appeared also Persons of Credit of several Nations, *Dutch, German, Swedish, Polish, Turkish, Russian, English, &c.* who accused him of tampering with, and corrupting, those who had the Management of Affairs in their respective Countries, which by that Means were greatly injured and oppressed. The Cardinal's Answer was, That he had indeed kept his Spies in all the *European* Courts; and according to the Custom everywhere practised, had endeavoured to draw such Ministers over as were most able to give him Light into the Designs of their Councils. This he did for the Security of his Master, and to prevent any Mischiefs that might be plotting against him; that if such Ministers, presuming on his Protection or Assistance, pursued any other Measures to the Prejudice of their respective Countries, he was not to be answerable for it, since his View went no farther than to serve his own.

To this it was reply'd by the Judge, that tho' it might be lawful for a Minister to take Care of the Interests of his Country in foreign Courts, and even to employ Spies to discover what Projects may be forming to the Disadvantage of his own, yet that the corrupting of foreign Ministers was by no Means lawful; since it was causing Persons to commit the greatest of all Crimes, the betraying of their native Country. That the Fault was magnified in corrupting a Prime Mi-



nister, for thereby the Nation to which he belong'd was not only more completely betrayed, but was deprived of an Opportunity of taking the same Advantage, or making Reprisals by Corruption; the Person to whom the Direction of such secret Managements principally appertained, being already gained over to their Enemies: that therefore so far as this was the Case, he thought him criminal. On which Sentence a loud Huzzah arose among the Standers by; particularly the *Swedes*, *Dutch* and *English*.

To the third Article the Cardinal answer'd, that no Minister had ever the Good of his Country more at Heart than he; and altho', according to the Nature of absolute Governments, it was necessary that every Thing was, for Sake of Form and Grandure, said to be done in the Name only of the King, and for his Glory, yet it was to be understood to be done also for the Interest of the Kingdom: since what was not for the Benefit of the Kingdom, cou'd be of no Benefit to the Prince; and hoped his Actions wou'd bear this Interpretation, that they tended to make his Master great, only in consequence of making his People powerful and rich.

To this *Æacus* reply'd, that the Question was not whether his Country reaped any Advantage by his Ministry, but whether what he did was for sake of the People or their Prince? That if for sake of the Prince, the People were no way obliged to him, who in such Case served them only by Accident, not Design. That a Nation may receive a great Addition of Strength, or Riches, by Conquest and otherwise, and yet be  
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very miserable at home: That such Acquisitions in absolute Monarchies serve only to render the Prince more strong and the People more weak; that therefore he wou'd have served the People more by lessening the Royal Power, and disburthening them of their Taxes, than by adding whole Provinces to the Kingdom, and Millions to its Wealth. That it did not appear he had done any Thing like this; that on the Contrary he did all he cou'd to extend his Master's Power, without easing the People; and if he did not lay on new Taxes, he did not remove any of the old. That how far he preferr'd the Prince's Privilege to the People's Rights, was seen in his Rigour in supporting the *Constitution Unigenitus*, which he did not approve of; in sending that Visionary M. *Montgeron*, Councillor of the Parliament of *Paris*, to the *Bastile*, for dedicating and presenting his Book of the Miracles of Abbe *Paris* to the King; and in banishing all those concerned in a Petition to the King, (representing the Evils arising from the too great Power of the Crown, by being liable to be abused by Ministers) the Advice of which he at the same Time followed: that the Disregard he shew'd to the Privileges of the Parliament, and the Discouragement he gave to whatever tended to secure the Civil Rights, proved the same Thing; that his inducing those intitled to perpetual Annuities, to take Annuities for Life instead of them, shewed what care he took that none shou'd have a fixed or permanent Title in the Kingdom, but the King himself; that therefore if he at any Time express'd a Concern for the  
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People, he cou'd mean only the Commonality from whom he apprehended no Danger, and not the better Sort, or the Nation in general, whose Fetters he rivetted on as hard as he possibly cou'd; that this being the real Case his saying no Minister had ever the Good of his Country more at Heart, might be very true, but was an Allegation of no Advantage either to himself or them; that it was almost impossible that a Minister who is not under the Controul of the People shou'd have their Interest truly at Heart, since tho' Ministers in all free Countries have endeavoured to enlarge the Power of the Prince, (and enslave the Subject) yet none ever went about to limit it, however exorbitant it was: That the bare desire of continuing in Power, and of being independent, (which is inseparable from those who aspire to, or accept of, high Employments) naturally disposes Ministers to abridge the Rights and Priviledges of the People rather than to enlarge them. That he himself was an Instance how far Ambition only, without any selfish Views, will render a Minister incapable of having the real Interests of the People at Heart: since tho' he did not plunder them, and amass Riches to himself and his Family, as other rapacious Ministers did, yet he had done his utmost to enlarge the Prince's Power, and bring the Subject more under the Yoke. That he promoted absolute Power as a Minister, which he abhorred as a Subject, and cou'd not have born in a private Capacity; that therefore he acted unjustly and partially, and must stand condemn'd in his own Conscience, since his Exaltation cou'd only

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corrupt his Principles and Views, without changing his real Sentiments. That lastly the Power of prime or sole Minister was inconsistent with the Interest of the Prince as well as the People, even in his own Opinion; since when he found his End drawing near, he had candidly advised his Master (as *Mazarin* had done his Predecessor) never to intrust the sole Power in one Hand any more.

To the fourth Charge the Cardinal answer'd that altho' the Romish Clergy were by some old Canons of their Church disabled from accepting of Places in the Magistracy, or exercising any temporal Authority or Jurisdiction, yet that Custom had layed those Rules aside for several Ages past; and this Custom was farther strengthened by a Dispensation from their supreme Bishop the Pope, who himself exercised both spiritual and temporal Jurisdiction. That he had not sought after the Place of Prime-Minister, nor had accepted it with any ambitious View.

To this it was replied by the Court, That Custom could never be pleaded against a positive Law, or in Defence of violating an Obligation; that if the Clergy engage by Oath or otherwise to observe the Canons, it could not be lawful in him to break them; that spiritual Perjury was the worst of all Perjuries, and those Clergy who could be guilty of it must be capable of any thing; that the least that could be inferred from it was, that they either do not believe in the Religion they profess, or that they teach it merely for Interest. That he knew the Pope's Dispensation was a Cheat, and not worth one Rush; since he  
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hath no Power more than the poorest Mortal to make what is Evil to be Good; and that as to their Example it was the worst Authority he could have produced, inasmuch as they were the grand Corruptors in Spirituals, and were infamous both in the upper and lower World, for having polluted, profaned, and deformed Religion with the most impious, absurd Impostures, and pernicious Doctrines, as well as Practices, both to the Bodies and Souls of Men, to serve the Views of Interest and Power. That his not having sought after the Post of Minister did not exculpate his Acceptance of it; whence also it might be presumed that he coveted it.

The last Article of the Indictment having, at the C-----'s Request, been read over again, he said in his Defence, That the Religion he professed had been transmitted down to him by his Ancestors; that he received it as the same which had been been instituted by the Founder of it, pure and without Adulteration; that he knew of no Errors or wicked Doctrines it contained; that if he had had any Doubts about it, there is such a Variety of different Religions in the World, all pretending to divine Revelation, and many of them grounded on the same Authority, that he must have judged it safest to adhere to his own. That there are so many of them it would be endless to examine them all; and if one was to set about it, he may be at a Loss for want of some universal Rule or Test. whereby to judge which was the true, and direct his Faith: so that he must rest on the Authority on which he receives his own Religion after all. That was a Man

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convinced his Religion was erroneous and even wicked, what could he do when his Livelihood depended intirely on adhering to it; and in a Country, perhaps, where it was dangerous to find Fault with it, and where the least Shew of Indifference or Dislike would be attended, at least, with the Loss of his Bread?

To this it was replied by the Court, That his adhering to the Religion handed down by his Ancestors could be no Justification of him, if that Religion was false. That Tradition was no manner of Ground for the Truth of a Religion, since, being common to all Religions, it would authorize the false as well as the true; and that Argument which proves a false Religion true must be false itself. That his receiving his Religion as the same instituted by its Founder, was no Proof that it was the same; and he could not but be sensible it was charged with being impure, and having deviated greatly from its primitive Simplicity. That he could not possibly be ignorant that it contained many Errors and wicked Doctrines: that Transubstantiation was a monstrous absurd Doctrine, and involved no fewer than three of the greatest Crimes and Impieties that can be committed, *viz.* (1.) The setting up a Wafer, or Piece of Bread, as God. (2.) The causing divine Adoration to be given to that false God; and then, (3.) Swallowing that Wafer-Idol: so that the Priests of his Church are so wicked as to eat their God (though a breadden God was fit only to be eaten;) whence it is plain, they durst if they could devour the Deity himself. That he could not but know the adoring



Saints and Images was a wicked Invention to bring in Offerings ; and so gross an Idolatry, and so contrary to his Scriptures, that the Priests in some Countries, ashamed to teach it, denied it to be the Doctrine of their Church, and in other Countries struck the second Commandment against Image-Worship out of the Decalogue, that the People should not see it was forbidden. That Purgatory, Pardons, Indulgences, Prayers and Masses for the Dead, were all Fictions, set on foot likewise for Gain, and for which there was not the least Foundation in the Christian Law ; that forbidding Priests Marriage, taking away the Cup from the Laity, and obliging the People to confess to Priests, are Precepts contrary to Scripture, and ordained by the *Romish* Clergy with a View to gain Interest and Veneration to themselves. That the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy, his Power of making Articles of Faith, dispensing with solemn Oaths, and dissolving Contracts ; his assumed Authority of deposing heretical or contumacious Princes, exalting himself above Emperors, and the priestly Office above the regal, are Usurpations, contrary to Scripture, Morality and the Rights of Civil Magistrates or Governors, as well as of the People. That he could not but know that the Decrees of Popes, or Councils, to keep no Faith with Hereticks or Unbelievers ; and to root them out by Fire and Sword, Crusades and Inquisitions ; to put them to Death, or inflict corporal Punishments on them, are in their own Nature execrable, and the most bare-faced Violation of the Laws of Nature and Humanity : that the bloody Wars,

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Massacres, Persecutions, Murders, Banishment, Imprisonments, Confiscations, Dragoonings, sending to the Gallies, and the like enormous Cruelties inflicted in Consequence of such Decrees, was a Demonstration that his Religion was most execrably wicked, and its Clergy the worst of Men. That he could not but know, it is not in a Man's Power to believe just as he pleased himself; and that therefore no Mortal ought to be punished for his Belief, whatever it was, unless his Principles were contrary to Morality and the good of Society; in which Case it was the Business only of the Civil Magistrate to call to Account and punish him. That he could not but know, the Pomp, Pride, Cruelty, and Riches of his Church were the very Reverse of that Poverty, Humility, and Humanity which Christ taught and practiced. That the Variety of different Religions, equally pretending to Revelation, or the same Authority, was so far from being an Argument that it was safest to adhere to his own, that it of Necessity rendered his own doubtful, and not to be depended on, without Examination: since that which was an Argument in Favour of *his* Religion, must have been an Argument in favour of the rest, and made them all equally safe to be depended on, consequently equally doubtful. That, if People be obliged to adhere to the Religion they were bred in, false Religions must always continue, and Truth never prevail: that in such Case it would be an egregious Folly to think to propagate any Doctrines by preaching; and the Endeavours of his Church to force People to a Belief of them, must in his own

Judgment be most unconscionable as well as cruel. That to excuse the Neglect of examining the several Religions for want of some certain Rule, Guide or Authority, to try them by, was insincere: since he knew natural Religion was allowed by all Christian Divines to be the Foundation of all Religions in general, and the Christian in particular; and that all other Religions were false so far as they are inconsistent with it. That he knew natural Religion was the Revelation of the Deity, founded in Nature, and the Reason of Things; that consequently it is eternal, permanent, immutable, fixed, and universal, perpetually existing, and the same in all Ages and Countries; which Marks or Properties no other Religion was possessed of. That natural Religion, in consequence of being grounded on the *Reason*, or Law of Nature, being the Object of the human Reason, must of Necessity be adapted to it, and discoverable by it; the Means being always proportioned to the End: that it is suited to the very meanest Capacity, and carries its own Demonstration along with it. That it has been always discovered and embraced by great Numbers of Persons in every Country; and that if it be not universally received by the Men of Understanding, it is not because the human Reason is too feeble or insufficient to guide them to it, but because it wants Cultivation in some Countries, and that in others such great Pains are taken by the Priests to run it down, fetter and banish it, under pretence of its being weak, liable to err, dangerous to trust to, and other false Suggestions. That natural Religion being in  
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itself too simple, clear and easily understood, to serve the Purposes of Priests, they corrupted it; and having made it absurd as well as superstitious, it became their Business to explode Reason, well knowing that were People to make Use of it, it would bring back Religion and destroy their Craft. That the Authority on which his Religion depends, could not possibly be the Rule for trying the Truth of others by: since there was no more Reason why the *Mahometan* Religion should be tried by his Scriptures than the Christian by the *Koran*; although both might be tried by Reason: that therefore Reason was the only universal Rule, and consequently the Rule of Faith; the Merit of which consisted not in the Mysteriousness and Magnitude, but Rationality and Soundness of it. That as to his Apology for continuing in a false Religion, for the sake of Bread, it only serves to prove that Religion is a Thing which none ought to live by, and is become a Trade; that he ought to have quitted it as soon as he discovered its Errors, and not to have propagated Fraud, Cruelty, and Impiety, for the sake of a Livelihood, which might have been gotten in an honest Way; that nothing could excuse his Continuance and accepting of Preferment in such a Church, but a Design of pulling it down, or reforming it: that it does not appear that he had the least Thoughts that Way; but on the contrary, did all in his Power to aggrandize and extend it, whereby he oppressed his Nation in Spirituals as well as Temporals. That Priests like Placemen, have nothing but Interest in View, and will  
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support the most pernicious Systems to serve their private Ends; that therefore the only Way to free Religion from Errors, Absurdities and Cruelty, and reduce it to its primitive Purity and Plainness, is to remove the Bone of Contention, or the Temptation to keep up Corruptions, by making it not worth the while of Priests to deceive and mislead Mankind. That Religion like Government and Law, in most Countries is become a vile Trade, or rather Conspiracy, set on foot by the Ministers of each, in order to plunder and enslave the rest of the Nation. That there is no Way to put an End to pernicious Principles and Practices in any Profession whatever, but by removing the Cause of Corruption. Take away the fat Benefices, and other Emoluments of the Clergy, and there will soon be but one Religion in the World: But, till the Cause be taken away the evil Effects can never cease.

Here *Æacus* ended what he had to say; and as the Cardinal found every thing was judged by the strict Rules of Justice and Reason (as the Jesuit *Tenhard* had informed him) he thought it would be in vain to reply, and so stood silent: whereupon the Court proceeded to pass Sentence against him, which was somewhat mitigated in Consideration that he had not enriched himself by plundering the People; and that if he had not done them much Good, he had not done them as much Hurt as he might have done.